/17 cont./

are not going to talk about what we have heard; we have lived long years with the Indians and we speak from daily, intimate experience, which obliges us to speak the truth even though bullets may keep on flying.

We have not come to break spears in favor of the Indians, but in favor of the truth. This idea of the innate laziness of the Indians we believe to be the twin sister of the "black legend" about the Spaniards, against which of little avail have been the voices of Maetzu, Juderías, Bayle, Lummis, etc. Perhaps the voice of the missionary, so often accused of being blinded by affection, may also be scorned and turn out to have been preaching in the desert, but, anyway, magis amica veritas.

38. A very different matter, with which we shall not here deal, is the physical endurance and useful labor of the Indians, which gave rise to the bringing of Negroes for the working of the mines and the sugar mills. Also different is the other question of malnutrition or incomplete nutrition and the degeneration produced by alcoholism, malaria, etc., although they have a bearing upon the main point we are dealing with here. Speaking of useful labor, I do note that, with regard to the Guaraúno, the Rev. Fr. Gaspar de Pinilla, a missionary among them, has often told me that in the handling of the axe, canoe paddle, and dragging of temiche /18/, he would not exchange them for any Negro or Creole, despite the fact that the Guaraúno are among those most accused of being slothful and lazy. The same can be said of the Pemón of the Gran Sabana with respect to traveling with burdens, construction of huts, etc., that is to say, everything that makes up their daily life and their own activity.

People who often speak, to relieve their overflowing impatience on trips, against the sluggishness, stoicity, laziness, etc., of the long-suffering Indians, two days later, when the discomforts have now disappeared, can be heard to outdo themselves in praise of how fine they are for carrying and a thousand other things.

/18 cont./

167 39. Also flour from a different sack, although tangentially related to what we are dealing with, is the matter of a lack
461 of initiative, lack of ambition, and a lack of appetite for certain temporal well-being, to which they are not accustomed and which consequently they do not miss which should not justly surprise us, since we should never forget that man is a creature of customs. In this sense it is true that the Indian, without realizing it, seems to repeat the adage, which the Holy Books put in the mouth of the fool: "Better is a handful with rest than both hands full with work and vexation of spirit. (Ecclesiastes IV, 6.)

40. For the correct solution of the problem stated, we must keep most in mind that the place where the Indians live ought to be pondered, since not in vain is it said to us that geography is one of the eyes necessary in every treatise on or study of man.

147 a) Obviously in hot climates nobody can carry on the same activity as in cold ones. The wise Creator did not give to the animals of the tropics the same instinct for frugality or storing up that he gave to their congeners in other climates.

251 261 b) Tropical fruits, in general, cannot be stored, but must be consumed at once: thus the more or less remote tendency to gluttony.

251 263 c) The lack of salt similarly does not allow them to store up provisions of the meat of animals for a long time and thus to ration its consumption. Hung game /mosqueadas/ meat or meat cured only with fire does not last indefinitely like salted meat.

221 d) The nonexistence of seasons of strong contrast and well defined does not help man in these lands to precise calculation, thus great abundance and squandering may frequently be followed by great shortage.

433 e) The enormous isolation from centers of commerce, as a final evil, does not allow them to cultivate anything except
080 what they themselves /19/ are going to consume. In general,

/19 cont./

462 children, such as adornments of strings of beads, straps for carrying children, and hammocks; they make ollas (where they can find suitable clay); and they care for the cleanliness of the house and its surroundings and the raising of the children. In short, pertaining to the man are the use of the machete, the axe, weapons, etc., and to the woman ollas, decorations, the broom, etc.

484 Only on journeys, considered apart from the rest of their
482 life, do the Indian women appear laden like the bachaco /an antlike insect/, /20/ while the men walk unburdened with weapons in hand. But it should be considered that the Indian travels this way always in hope of game that may appear at an unexpected moment, and that frequently he leaves the beaten path to run on to an agreed meeting point or the end of the trip.

461 Often the Indian man will be found lying down in his
462 hammock while the woman prepares the meal for him; but on many other occasions the Indian woman will be seen resting or relaxed in her hut while the man, abandoning repose, in wind, cold, and rain is hunting animal food (not so easy to obtain as is the vegetable) in the early mornings, at nightfall, or running the whole day long with but a piece of cassava in his bag.

[521] To be sure among the Indians as well they debate the eternal and hateful question (especially in moments of displeasure) of whether the women work more than the men or vice-versa, and the final conclusion is always in favor of the person speaking and against those of the opposite group. But this proves nothing, since nobody is a fair judge in his own case.

461 42. The much-cackled-about laziness of the Indians as a
533 group having thus been resolved, we do not deny that among them, at the side of the arikenak, diligent one, exists the enakiní, the weak and lazy one, both of them so ably portrayed in the tale of the owl and the duck. They also say that just

/20 cont./

461 like the tapui amuenín and mua akenín (builder of houses and
538 organizer of agricultural work), there are the kamí tarén (one who lives in his hammock) and the tereutasén nakẽ (the eternal stroller-about), who cannot relax because he has a pointed stick in his critical part, and the karán (traveler), who often turns out to be a karán-karán (head insect), who lives
[126] off the work of others. Precisely on the subject of these last a few days ago I received a drawing from one of those educated in our boarding school in San Francisco de Luepa, with the following expressive caption: Kamí tarenkon, iuantón, "Those who live in the hammock, live hungry."

114
433 43. For more proof I want to transcribe Dr. Simpson's
461 words in his work Los Kamarakotos, page 541, on this same subject, since we are in complete agreement. "The Kamarakoto have a very definite standard of living which almost all of them attain. They work hard to maintain a home of their own, with a good house, adequate conuco /fields/, hammocks, baskets, and all of the goods that they need, personal adornments, and other items of property inherent in their way of life.

"When these necessities are for the moment satisfied, /21/ the Indians relax and have fun. The heaping up of wealth, saving for the future, and any accumulation of goods that is not for daily use is not even attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered true loafers.

"Bearing in mind their standard, they have abundant energy that they display when, by this same standard, they have any reason whatsoever to work; it is thus completely unjust to
[462] apply to them the term idlers." "Neither is it true, say what you will about other Indians, that the Kamarakoto assign to their women an inequitable portion of the work."

000 44. Whence, then, it will be said, the backwardness and lack of culture of these Indians? I am the first to recognize and to touch with my own hands the lack of culture and

*285 colored parts of the pattern comprise parallel elements. In some cases, how-
531 ever, including the wapa and many (but not all) of the strands of an amaztu, strands that belong to one set on the base turn at its rim in such a way that in part of side (spreading upward from each corner) strands that were all parallel on the base form the two interplaited sets on the side. This would make the use of pre-colored strands all running in one direction in the base impossible. The difficulty is cleverly met, as may be seen by close examination of the figures of the bases of these baskets, by coloring only half of each strand, carefully weaving so that the change in color on a given strand is at the diagonal of the base, and so that the colored fibers run in opposite directions in adjacent triangular segments of the base. This is done in such a way that on the sides all the colored strands are parallel.

Occasionally single strands of wadapi, naturally much darker than manare, are woven across a manare fabric. This does have a somewhat decorative effect, but it is never used for that reason but only for the functional purpose of anchoring a wadapi strand that is to be used for lashing edge re-enforcement.

*285 Typical designs are seen in Figs. 51, 56B, 56C, 57, 59A, 62, 63. The
531 elements of these designs are widespread (Roth shows examples of virtually all
153 of them from British Guiana) and are simply learned by rote and handed on
[171] from one generation to the next. A Kamarakoto basket maker knows by this rote memory what exact formula for twilling will produce a picture of a frog, but he is unable to make a satisfactory or artistic picture of a frog in any other medium and I suspect, although I have not tried this out and cannot be positive, that he would in most or all cases be unable to produce in basketwork a picture for the elements of which he did not already know the twilling formula. In the combination of these elements into the more complex patterns, however, he shows considerable ingenuity and variety, to such an extent that except for the simplest geometrical patterns he seldom produces two designs that are exactly alike.

Exactly the same sort of rote knowledge of elements of designs with originality in combining these elements is shown by the women in weaving their bead aprons.

531 This is a convenient place for mention of Kamarakoto graphic skill in
532 general. It is very poor. Few Indians, at least in South America, surpass them
● [461] in the more mechanical elements of technique and they have a genuine esthetic pleasure in work, such as basketry, that is well done, but there does not appear now to be among the members of the tribe any tradition of art or design on a purely esthetic basis or any individual who is an artist in any sense not included in the word artisan. They have learned and take delight in graphic design that is integral in the process of manufacture, but seem almost completely devoid of any idea of embellishing an article of which this is not true. For instance, I did not see any of their various wooden objects, troughs, benches, etc., on

589 595 162 is a definite group of sexually mature but young and (as a group) not quite full-grown men who are not married, a definite young bachelor class in the tribe.

Division of Labor

511 461 Kamarakotos have a very definite standard of living which is almost universally attained. They work hard to maintain a proper household, with a good dwelling, an adequate farm-patch, hammocks, baskets, and such other household objects as they require, personal ornaments, and the other appurtenances of their way of life. When these things are, for the moment, achieved, the [556] [185] Indians rest and play. Hoarding of wealth, provision for the future, or any accumulation of things not for current use is not attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered at all lazy, and given their own standards and their abundant energy when they have, by these standards, any reason to work, it is entirely unjust to apply the word "lazy" to them at all.

462 Nor is it true of them, whatever can be said of other Indians, that an unfair amount of labor is assigned to the women. Man's work and woman's work are, as a rule, sharply defined. Men and women do different things and often their work is done at different times, but they do roughly equivalent amounts of work. A man may be seen idly watching a woman work, but not more often than a woman idly watching a working man. It is also noteworthy that there are many operations in which men and women work together, seldom doing the same task but performing integrated parts of a common task. And while in general a man will not do a woman's work, he will do so if circumstances warrant. For instance, nothing is more typically woman's work than carrying a [854] [484] baby, but I have seen a man doing this, leaving the woman unburdened, on a long trek when his wife became tired.

The most important characters of the division of labor are:

Men	Women
The felling of trees, clearing of ground, and the actual construction of all buildings.	Most of the hauling and carrying incidental to building, but the men may help some.
Clearing and planting of conucos.	Cultivation and harvesting of crops and carrying them to the house.
All hunting and fishing except, in part, fish-poisoning.	----------

423 648 The lack of formal title to their land under the Venezuelan legal system presents, for the moment, no special problem as regards land used for dwelling, farming, hunting, and fishing. There is no pressure on such land and at present no tendency by non-Kamarakotos to compete for it, although a colonization scheme such as has been suggested might suddenly present the Indians with a 316 very serious and perhaps, for them, insoluble problem. They are, however, 423 already aware of possible difficulty as regards title to the gold deposits in their 643 territory, even though the gold so far discovered has not been sufficient to [648] cause a serious invasion of their remote region. Their reasoned attitude regarding this is to establish title to the gold deposits for the cacique. In their consideration he is not, however, a personal owner but only a custodian on behalf of the whole group, just as household property can be considered as belonging, in a rather vague but real sense, to the head of the household but is freely used by all its members. There is a rather close analogy to the crown lands of a constitutional monarchy, where title is said to belong to the king but he is in fact an owner only as he represents the state as a whole and the property is actually communal.

This communal nature of the mines that "belong" to the cacique is shown in practice by the fact that any adult male member of the tribe has the right of working the mines and that the gold found by any man becomes his personal property without any deduction of royalty, rental, or tribute. Even further than this, if a particularly rich pocket is discovered it is customary to notify the other members of the tribe so that anyone who wishes to can share in it.

422 425 Movable possessions are more rigidly owned than is land and in this case the ownership is usually to be considered as purely personal and not as communal even in the sense that household lands belong to the family group rather than specifically to the to⁹-esa⁹ as an individual. Here the principles of ownership arising from manufacture, as between different households, and from use, [437] as within a household, are dominant. Thus a new hammock made by a woman of a given household is the property of that household and its barter to another group may be by the maker or by the to⁹-esa⁹ as representing the household, but if it is assigned to and used by a particular member of the household, it is [437] his, or her, personal property. So, too, in barter or purchase of goods from [439] other tribes or from Venezuelans, this may be done on a purely personal basis or by the to⁹-esa⁹ for his household and subsequent personal ownership is established by the individual who uses the object or material in question.

[126] In our trading with the Indians, it was noteworthy, for instance, that a basket made, of course, by a man but already in use by a woman, was not sold except with the woman's consent and that the price was generally payable to her or for her benefit. On the other hand, a new basket was sold by and for the 461 maker. In paying for labor, the women generally spent the sums due them on 465 themselves and on the young children, not for their husbands. Commonly a man [593] would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself.

461 would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself. Among
465 the Indians themselves the employment of labor is not uncommon and is paid
[472] either by labor in return or by goods, such as baskets or other common objects of trade. For instance one man may definitely employ another (outside his household — those in the household are of course obligated to help freely) to help erect his house and in return will do an equivalent amount of work for the man employed or will give him an equitable amount of food, drink, or articles of trade. This practice contains the germs of definite class differentiation into employees and laborers, but such differentiation has not at all occurred as yet.
[558] Generally speaking, there is no pronounced difference in wealth between different households and no one man is much more likely to be an employer than an employee.

Crime and Punishment.

173 According to present statements, the ancient penal code of the tribe, if
673 an indefinite and unwritten customary handling of the problem of crime can be
[681] so called, recognized basically only one crime, that of being hopelessly undesirable, and one punishment, death. Judgment as to the undesirability of a
[682] [685] member of the tribe was based on the commission of antisocial actions, among
173 which unjustified murder, violation of fishing rights, and habitual thievery
692 were specifically mentioned. A household might take matters into its own
643 hands, but this was considered undesirable and the regular, one might say the
[627] truly legal, procedure was to lay the complaint before the cacique who judged its accuracy and gravity, but apparently without holding anything resembling
[696] a formal hearing or trial. If he condemned the criminal, he assigned the duty of executing him to any members of the tribe, such as the male complainants, and the sentence was carried out without further formality as soon as opportunity presented.

674 At present, the Indians say, crime is so nearly unknown that no regular
[681] system of punishment is required. It is easy to believe that serious crime is
[152] extremely rare as the amity of the Kamarakotos is amazing. Even when they
[273] were violently drunk no quarreling was seen, still less any attempts at physical injury. They are, however, human and it is incredible that no crime ever is
[178] committed. From answers to hypothetical questions as to what would be done if a crime should occur, it is evident that the old code is still considered natural and just and I have no doubt that it would be, and probably is, still applied if
685 occasion arises. Specifically, it was stated that unprovoked murder and serious
[682] violation of fishing rights merit death and that this should be administered un-
[696] der direction of the cacique but might well be undertaken by the injured house-
[627] hold on its own initiative. Theft, on the other hand, is now considered theoretically (and probably also in practice although no specific instance could be